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United Nations Photo

A SYMBOL OF THE PRO-PEACE MOVEMENT IN THE UN

Ghana's delegate voting for an Assembly president

AFTER THE SOVIET A-TESTS

UN Assembly fights to force big-power pullback from brink

By David Wesley
Special to the Guardian

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.

THE 16TH SESSION of the United Nations General Assembly opened Sept. 19 after a summer in which the world had moved perilously close to the brink of thermonuclear war. Every General Assembly gets to have a special character, and by the end of the first week of the 16th sessions it had become evident that this Assembly would be characterized by a massive push away from the brink.

The nature of the struggle had also become clear: The pushers were the underdeveloped world, prodded by the socialist world, and the pushed were the U.S. and the colonial powers with which it was allied.

The push was along a number of directions, and several were taken in sharp response to a calculated and dramatic act of brinkmanship with which the summer's parlous events had culminated—the resumption of nuclear testing by the U.S.S.R. The first response, it can be stated authoritatively, was a sudden U.S. shift in tactics on the vital disarmament question.

ARMS STATEMENT: Since early June Administration disarmament adviser John J. McCloy for the U.S. and Deputy Foreign Minister Valerian Zorin for the Soviet Union had been holding private talks for the purpose of recommending a formula to the General Assembly for reconstituting an international disarmament conference. Through August the two negotiators were stalemated. Zorin required that in addition to arranging for the conference, the two powers had to agree on a set of basic disarmament principles for the treaty the parley would seek to draft. McCloy, apart from a broad statement on the conference aim, insisted on limiting agreement to the organizational ground rules for the conference.

Shortly after the Soviet Union started testing to develop a 100-megaton bomb McCloy handed Zorin a statement of principles to govern the writing of a disarmament treaty. The statement was almost identical with a statement Zorin had proposed early in the talks. An agreed-upon draft was swiftly completed and was presented to the Assembly on its second day.

The principles envisioned a disarmament treaty, which in three timed stages, would slash military establishments down to internal security levels under constant supervision of a veto-less international control organ. They also urged taking beginning measures even before a complete pact is worked out.

Five days later, on Sept. 25, President Kennedy, in a speech to the Assembly, introduced an outline of a disarmament plan which, while omitting the crucial details, seemed to represent an advance over the American program which had caused a Russian walkout at the ten-nation talks June 27, 1960. At the least, it was a formula providing the basis for discussions, and Kennedy's chief contribution was to call for immediate resumption of disarmament talks as well as test-ban talks. Significantly, the Kennedy disarmament outline included sign-

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A CASE OF REACTION AND INACTION

Congress' dismal record: It did little but wrong

By Russ Nixon
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

AFTER ALMOST nine months in Washington, the 537 members of the 87th Congress are going home with a record that demonstrates a set of dismal facts: Our national legislative body is overwhelmingly reactionary, chauvinistic and warlike; it won't let go of McCarthyism and is unwilling to give Negroes equal rights; it is opposed to an effective national program for full employment and social welfare.

Congress in 1961 has been dominated by the cold war. Its actions and talk have been primarily aimed at stepping up the arms race and getting tough with the socialist world. Thus, it took Congress less than a week to approve unanimously the entire program of military buildup with a $3.5 billion rise in the military budget requested by President Kennedy in his July 25 address on the Berlin crisis. Unanimous approval was given to the highest military budget in peacetime, totaling $46,662,556,000. This figure includes $265,611,000 added by Congress over the amount requested by the Administration. It is $6.4 billion more than was spent last year, and almost $5 billion more than President Eisenhower had estimated was required this year.

AN EXTRA BIT: An acute illustration of the mood of Congress came on Aug. 3, when the Senate voted 87 to 4 to reject

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A report on an Assembly for freedom in New York

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY for Democratic Rights, convened by an impressive list of sponsors to rally opposition to the repressive McCarran Act of 1950 on the eve of new Supreme Court deliberations on the Act, brought together about 1,200 registrants and a total attendance which approached 4,000 in New York Sept. 23-24.

Of the registrants more than 500 came from other states, in many of which area organization is already under way to combat effectuation of the Act. The constitutionality of the Act was confirmed June 5 by the Supreme Court, climaxing an 11-year fight against it conducted in the Federal courts by the Communist Party, U.S.A. Application of the Act has been stayed pending consideration by the Supreme Court of a petition for rehearing in the October term. The Act would force the Communist Party to register itself and its officials as agents of a foreign principal, and would set in motion proscription of "parallel" organizations and activities as Communist fronts or as Communist-infiltrated.

The sponsors of the Assembly opposing the Act declared in their call that under it "no one who opposes the cold war, racism and reaction in any form is safe from prosecution." They urged public mobilization in support of the views expressed in dissents by Justices Black, Brennan, Douglas and Warren from the 5-4 majority opinion of the high court last June.

Sponsors of the Assembly numbered more than 100 and included former Gov. Elmer Benson of Minnesota, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Rockwell Kent, Linus Pauling, Arthur Upham Pope, Prof. Theodore Rosebury, Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith, Dr. Willard Uphaus, Prof. Harold C. Urey and Dr. Mary Van Kleeck, sociologist and former director of Chicago's Hull House. Pauling and Urey are Nobel prize winners; Prof. Rosebury is one of the nation's leading experts on chemical and biological warfare. Prominent educators, clergymen, writers, artists, lawyers, and community leaders made up the sponsorship.

FOR THE ASSEMBLY, held in the roomy St. Nicholas Arena near Central Park, New York provided the hottest late September weekend on record, with temperatures in the hall sometimes topping 100 degrees. But the registrants and the participating audience worked out a program of action for their home states and areas for the setting up of concurring committees in 50 or more new localities to rally public opinion against the Act through public meetings and forums, radio and TV programs, letter-writing campaigns to newspapers and public officials and the enlistment of prominent citizens in opposition to the Act. At the public rally held Saturday night in conjunction

(Continued on Page 2)

THE MAIL BAG

No position?

BRONX, N.Y.

The GUARDIAN represents a Rock of Gibraltar to a great number of people of all walks of life because of the logical position it has always taken on world events; the incentive it has displayed on bringing to the attention of the world inequities of justice; its ability to bridge a deep gap between right and left (by the use of logic). For a great many years, people like myself have looked upon the GUARDIAN as a beacon in a crazy world.

And so it is with amazement that I read the last two issues. I refer to the lack of position on the Soviet tests.

The first to be published since they resumed testing was a surprise in that there was no position taken. Your paper hedged in every word—Are you for or against? I felt that would be resolved in the following issue. Today, I read it again—what does your article on the danger of fallout mean in terms of relationships? Still no answer.

Where are you? Are you with Lord Bertrand Russell or not? Do you condemn the Soviet Union or not?

Edna Reiter

Guardian quoted

WINFIELD, B.C.

I am refreshed. The GUARDIAN is moral. The GUARDIAN does condemn the tests.

It says: "We had hoped that Soviet patience—though tested to the breaking point—might endure, and that world pressure might prevent further U.S. and British tests and stop de Gaulle. Yet we cannot condemn the Soviet Union for its decision without condemning, as we have for more than a decade, the prodding, saber-rattling encirclement and provocation aimed at the socialist world since the death of President Roosevelt in 1945."

Russia's action is a terrific letdown—it had created the impression it wouldn't be **first** to do anything bad. And it has. Doubt, now, is cast everywhere. It reiterates it will not be **first** to use weapons, to start war. How much is that worth now?

I have broadcast for ages that America's moral value is zero and I have said that Russia is a better man than you, America. But—now?

Alec C. Beasley

Reply to Nearing

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Scott Nearing's review (Sept. 18) of the symposium, **Public Ownership in the U.S.A.,** disturbs me. The piece is marked by serious misstatements and its judgments are hardly worthy of a socialist concerned with world progress in 1961. Obviously, Dr. Nearing (despite world developments, not the least illuminating of which is Cuba) still clings to a type of socialist "perfectionism" with which I was well acquainted in Chicago back in 1906 and 1907. His rigid ideology rides him down! The key sectors of American capitalism still call for exploration and study and, Dr. Nearing to the contrary notwithstanding, they constitute the logical points of entry for an oncoming collectivist society.

Reuben W. Borough

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SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

In his informative descriptive review Scott Nearing has correctly pointed out the limitations of books of essays on a central theme. He has, however, missed some of the facts when he wrote: "The authors do not refer to the fascist oligarchy which throttles the U.S. economy nor to the superstructure of its political informational and social controls over public life."

In the public schools chapter (p. 60) I wrote: "Our present economic system has been jerry-built to serve the Power Elite . . . Everywhere business men dominate boards of education and trustees of colleges. In the great majority labor has no, or only token, representation."

"Budgets in our schools and in higher education have been rigidly cut because the Power Elite tightened the purse strings . . . Thousands of American teachers have been thrown out of their positions for political reasons." (p. 93)

Many other examples can be cited throughout the book as evidence that the authors are well aware of the dictatorship which rules the U.S. today.

Holland Roberts

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

BOSTON — (UPI) — Carefully selected technical and professional people should be stockpiled underground to protect humanity in case of nuclear attack, according to a Unitarian minister. Rev. Jack Mendelsohn told his congregation yesterday, "Let's put them underground with all the factories, schools, equipment and machinery they will need—not for two weeks but perhaps for as long as ten years, until the face of the earth is safe once again for human habitation."

—The Cleveland **Press**, Sept 18

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: M. L. N., Cleveland Heights, Ohio.

Farm problems

WASHINGTON, KAN.

May I, as a bona-fide "dirt" farmer, comment on the article on the farm situation (GUARDIAN, Sept. 4). The idea of withholding farm products from the market to up the price is not new. The Farmers Holiday Assn. advanced this scheme 40 years ago.

A factor today, making this type of action more ineffective, is the fact that the production of many commodities is passing from the small producer to the big-money mass-production enterprises. Those who actually do the work in the broiler business are merely servants of the feed companies and supermarkets. Plants to produce 200,000 hogs per year are in operation. The chain stores are rapidly moving into beef production by acquiring their own feed yards and slaughtering facilities. The production of eggs is being taken over by big business.

As for the government farm program, it is not the cure for the chronic ills of the economic system, but it has kept the bottom from falling out. Those in authority know that without some prop for these prices our debt-ridden, corruption-saturated system would crash overnight. Unless some plan is adopted that will realistically raise the income of farmers and other underprivileged groups, conditions will worsen into the monstrous progeny of all the busts of the past.

Ernest B. Benne

Deeper, please

HANSKA, MINN.

It was good to see a farm article in the GUARDIAN, only I'm a little confused. I can't tell if you support the ideas of Fred Stover or if you really attack him through guilt by association with Nixon. I cannot tell what the GUARDIAN's stand on the Kennedy omnibus farm bill might be.

Except for a spurt during the Korean war, farm prices have been in a deflation ever since World War II, while the remainder of the economy has been in an inflation. This is the nub of the farm problem. This is why support for Stover and the NFO is growing while the Farmers Union and Farm Bureau are on a downhill slide.

Swenska Norska

Vie Nuove, Rome

". . . Housing permit, real estate tax, boat license, fishing license, penalties for delinquency and violations . . ."

Research aid asked

LITTLE COMPTON, R.I.

I am planning research on a fascinating but nearly forgotten chapter of American labor history, the so-called Seattle Revolution of 1917-1919. I am particularly anxious to examine files of the Seattle **Daily Call,** the left-wing socialist paper published during 1918, as well as other pertinent source material published during 1917-1919. While on the West Coast in November and December, I would like to meet with oldtimers familiar with the period.

Harvey O'Connor

Power of the pen

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I wonder how many people who are reading this have written to their congressmen or newspaper editor lately?

Those of us who live in an area where Birchers are active know how successfully they use the simple technique of letter-writing to accomplish their purposes. Local newspapers are saturated with their viewpoint until their voice appears to be the voice of the community. The result is that opposition to their policies is intimidated.

In much the same way, congressmen succumb to their pressure.

We must ask ourselves if we are willing to drift into an undemocratic government and ultimately, a thermonuclear war. If we allow Birch-type thinkers to take the initiative, this is inevitable.

If every reader wrote just one letter a week, the hand of progressive and liberal forces would be strengthened immeasurably.

A reader

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

CHICAGO editors were deluged last week with letters from readers outraged by Grand Jury indictments in the Cicero riot case. Naming not one of the mobsters in last July's three-day riot in which an apartment house was wrecked after Negro bus-driver Harvey Clark Jr. tried to move in, the Grand Jury indicted Mrs. Camille de-Rose, former owner of the building, Clark's NAACP-appointed lawyer and three others for "conspiracy" to depreciate property values by renting to a Negro. The Illinois Civil Rights Congress had ironically asked why Clark himself was not indicted. GUARDIAN's Sidney Ordower learned last week that in fact the Grand Jury took eight votes on indicting Clark and three times missed by one vote.

—From the National Guardian, Oct. 3, 1951

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REPORT TO READERS

Assembly for Freedom

(Continued from Page 1)

with the Assembly, an audience of about 1,000 unanimously sent a resolution to the White House urging the President and Attorney General to concur in the petition for rehearing by the Supreme Court.

Registration for the Assembly began at 10 a.m. Sept. 23. At the first session beginning at 1 p.m., an audience of more than 1,500 heard reports on the threats of the McCarran Act against labor, the Negro people, the foreign-born and academic freedom. Jack Provizano of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters was the labor spokesman; attorney Frank Anglin of Chicago spoke on the effect on Negro life; Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith, chairman of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, described the attempts to drive this committee out of existence; and Aryay Lenske, lawyer and onetime leader in the SLATE student group at the University of California, spoke on academic freedom. Attorneys John Abt and Joseph Forer, who with Vito Marcantonio initiated the legal fight on the Act in 1950 and have carried it on together since Marcantonio's death in 1954, discussed the clash of the Smith and McCarran Acts with the Bill of Rights. Rev. Lee H. Ball and Dr. Herbert Aptheker chaired the first session.

THE PUBLIC RALLY Saturday night was picketed by a handful of opponents carrying signs calling the participants Communist dupes and saying "God Bless McCarthy" and "Beware of Neutrals." Within the hall the balconies were draped with the statements of Jefferson, Madison, Paine, Samuel Adams and Benjamin Franklin urging the fight for liberty in founding years; and concurring later views by Frederick Douglass, Dr. Du Bois, Zechariah Chafee, Henry Steele Commager and Vito Marcantonio.

With the Rev. William Howard Melish coatless in the chair, the meeting heard from—in speaking order—John T. McManus of the GUARDIAN, Dr. Royal Wilbur France, attorney for Dr. Willard Uphaus in his noted fight against New Hampshire's "sedition" laws; Dr. Aptheker, Rev. Harry F. Ward, president emeritus of Union Theological Seminary; Carl Marzani, Liberty Book Club publisher; Dr. Clark Foreman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; Ishmael Flory of the Afro-American Heritage Association; Dr. Oakley Johnson and Eugene Young, speaking for youth. Martha Schlamme and Jerry Silverman sang and, despite the roster of speakers, the meeting ended by 11.

The Assembly reconvened at 10 a.m. Sunday; heard spokesmen for four groups, including the Communist Party, which are fighting registration under the McCarran Act. Former New York City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis spoke for the CP; Rev. Richard Morford for the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; Frank Lopez for the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; and Moe Fishman for the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. The participants then met in regional panel sessions, with a special panel on youth.

At the final plenary session Sunday afternoon, regional panel reports were heard from the West Coast, co-chairmen Vivian Hallinan and Rose Chernin; Atlantic-Southern, Madelyn Murray and Jean Frantjis; Midwest, Richard Criley and Mark Solomon; New England, Irma Otto; and New York, Rev. Lee Ball and Sam Pevsner. Spokesman for the youth panel was Eugene Young of the new Advance youth organization. Mrs. Otto and Cyril Phillips of New York chaired the final sessions.

Concluding their work, the Assembly participants thanked the sponsors for their "significant initiative" in issuing the call, and went into recess, rather than adjournment, with the request that the sponsors and initiators "consider any and all forms of action, including the reconvening of this Assembly" if warranted by further developments.

BRIGHT AND EARLY Sept. 25, the Monday after the Assembly, process servers for the House Un-American Activities Committee served summonses on Joseph Brandt, organizer of the Assembly; and Miriam Friedlander, secretary of the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties, 22 E. 17th St., New York 3, which has been active chiefly in distributing information about the McCarran Act and in mobilizing in the New York area for the Assembly. The summonses are returnable in Washington Oct. 2, the day the Supreme Court convenes for its October term to consider whether to alter its 5-4 decision affirming the McCarran Act.

So goes Freedom of Assembly in ante-McCarran America.

—THE GUARDIAN

UAW CONTRACT: NEW EQUIPMENT INCREASES PRODUCTION, BUT CUTS JOBS

GM 'washroom' strike spotlights speedup

By Robert E. Light

LAST MONTH'S United Auto Workers strike against General Motors was the first nation-wide walkout in history over the right to go to the washroom. It provided a few chuckles and some sneers—**Time** called it "autumnal madness"—but the strike also pointed up the racehorse pace of the assembly line and the general insecurity and low boiling point of those who work on it.

GM employes won the right to 24 minutes' "personal relief" time, in addition to a 2½% wage increase and improved welfare benefits, but there was little to slow the speedup or to re-employ the unemployed.

NEW MACHINES: In 1960, 64% more cars were produced than in 1947 with 5% fewer workers. This was possible because the companies pressed their employes harder and replaced old equipment with machines that required fewer hands.

Layoffs and short work weeks have become standard hazards for auto workers. Each time a group is laid off, a smaller number is eventually called back. There are about 165,000 unemployed auto workers and twice as many working a short week. Many of the cities housing auto plants have little other industry. An unemployed auto worker in a city such as Flint, Mich., if he is not recalled before his unemployment insurance expires, must seek work in another industry in another town.

Those who remain in the plants are in constant battle against management pressure for maximum speed and "efficiency," which is translated in the long run as fewer jobs. General Motors is called a "gold-plated sweat shop" by its employes. For years the company withstood the union's demand of the right of assembly line workers to go to the toilet whenever necessary. To the company, it meant hiring additional hands to fill in on the assembly line.

SHARE-WORK PLAN: The UAW was in poor shape for a strike in 1958 and it had to settle for small money and welfare advances, with no guarantees against unemployment and speedup. Many members vowed that 1961 negotiations would be different. At a special union convention last April, they campaigned for "30-40-60"—30 hours work for 40 hours' pay and retirement at age 60—as a means to spread the work.

UAW president Walter P. Reuther urged the convention not to tie his hands with specific proposals. He asked for and got a "flexible" program. He pledged to fight for job security and for a contract term of less than three years.

Negotiations opened in June with the Big Three (GM, Ford and Chrysler), but serious talk did not begin until Aug. 22, when the companies presented identical offers. Reuther rejected the offers but he came up with an agreement with the tiny (25,000 employes) American Motors Corp. which he called, "the most

Eaton in the Mine Mill Union

significant and historic collective bargaining agreement ever signed in the United States."

PROFIT DEAL: Reuther called it "profit-sharing;" AMC President George Romney called it "progress-sharing." Either way, there seemed to be some doubt who would profit from the company's progress. This is what the three-year agreement called for:

- After 10% of AMC's pre-tax profit is set aside for "stockholders' equity," 10% of what is left will be placed in a "progress-sharing" fund to provide increased benefits to employes. Another 5% will be used for purchase of the company's stock, to be held in the name of each worker. The stocks' voting rights will be permanently vested in trustees named by the company; the union will have no voice in voting of the stock.
- The annual 2½% wage increase (figured as compensation for greater productivity) will be continued. A cost-of-living escalator will also remain.
- Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) were increased from 65% to 75%-80% of gross pay and duration was increased from 26 to 52 weeks.

The "progress-sharing fund" will be used to pay increased pensions, better moving allowances for workers transferred from one plant to another, and the employes' share of the hospital-medical insurance fund.

A unique feature of the fund is that it will pay for a short work week benefit. If an employe gets less than 40 hours work in a week, he will receive one-half his regular wage for each hour below 40. For example, if he works 28 hours, he will get half pay for the 12 hours not worked.

A GIMMICK? Despite Reuther's elation, many in the union saw the agreement as a gimmick. They doubted that the "progress-sharing fund" would do more than finance the benefit programs. Mostly they were concerned because the union gave the company a "management's rights" clause, which will allow it a free hand to cut costs and jobs.

AMC Vice President Edward L. Cushman said he thought the agreement would result in "a substantial reduction in labor costs" because the company expected to eliminate "excessive paid-time-not-worked provisions, revise seniority clauses to increase effective utilization of manpower and establish a sound basis for production standards."

Reuther took the AMC agreement to the Big Three and asked them to meet it. He singled out GM as the largest and richest company. Ford and Chrysler would have to go along with whatever GM signed.

Auto contracts consist of a national agreement covering wages, hours and welfare benefits, supplemented by local agreements varying from plant to plant. UAW negotiators and GM reached agreement "in principle" on most matters by Sept. 7, but about 11,000 local issues remained unsettled. Reuther set Sept. 11 as a deadline; if agreement was not reached on plant issues, the locals were free to strike.

AT 91 PLANTS: Some locals jumped the deadline, but most waited until Sept. 11, when 91 of GM's 129 plants were struck. More than a quarter of a million auto workers were on the picket line.

By Sept. 20, Reuther and GM reached full agreement on a national contract. Most locals had settled their issues but 24 plants were still in disagreement. Reuther submitted the agreement to the UAW's GM Council for ratification. He said it had the authority to end or continue the local strikes. Clearly, he expected the Council to call off the local strikes. The Council quickly approved the national agreement, but it voted a nation-wide strike against GM to back up the 24 striking locals.

Reuther said that a strike against GM "cannot, in good conscience, be justified, and therefore will not be authorized." He called another meeting of the council and got it to approve a plan under which (1) workers at plants which had reached agreement would go back to work; and (2) company and union negotiators at the 24 other plants would come to Detroit, where Reuther would mediate their differences. He said that GM officials had agreed to the plan.

BACK TO WORK: On Sept. 24, the UAW executive board ordered all strikers back to work. It said that only five locals were still without agreements and these could be worked out while the employes were on the job.

The GM agreement is similar to the AMC agreement, but the company would have no truck with phrases like "profit-sharing." It called for: (1) a continuation of the 2½% annual wage increase and the cost-of-living escalator; (2) increased SUB payments; and (3) improved health and pension benefits.

The GUARDIAN's Detroit correspondent, Carl Haessler, reported that there was considerable rank-and-file grumbling. One diemaker told him: "We get some new benefits but we seem to pay for it mostly from our own money. There is very little new money in the agreement." Although the union won part pay for short work weeks, money to cover these costs will be taken from the SUB fund. In addition, 2 cents an hour of the annual wage increase will go to the health insurance fund and 1 cent from the cost-of-living escalator will go to help pay pension improvements.

In the shadows throughout the negotiations was the restraining hand of the Kennedy Administration. As negotiations opened in June, Secy. of Labor Arthur Goldberg told a Detroit meeting: "We cannot, from the standpoint of our domestic economy and from the standpoint of our position in world affairs, have a shutdown in the automobile industry this year."

On Sept. 6, President Kennedy sent wires to union and company officials urging them to avoid an "inflationary settlement." The negotiators apparently heeded his plea: GM announced there would be no price increase on new car models.

KUMAR GOSHAL

just back after a ten-week tour of Africa and the Middle East, will speak on:

AFRICA'S
Struggle for Freedom

NEW YORK—Oct. 11, 8 P.M.
Hotel Diplomat, 108 W. 43rd St.

CHICAGO—
Southside—Fri., Oct. 27
Northside—Sat., Oct. 28
at the home of Mr. & Mrs. Irving Nebenzahl, 930 Maple Av., Evanston

MILWAUKEE—Mon., Oct. 30
(Tentative—Watch for place)

MINNEAPOLIS—Tues., Oct. 31
7:30 P.M.
Place to be announced

SAN FRANCISCO—Nov. 3 weekend
Place to be announced

LOS ANGELES—Nov. 10 weekend

WATCH THE GUARDIAN FOR OTHER DATES AND PLACES

THOUSANDS SPUR THE BATTLE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS
The scene was St. Nicholas arena, N.Y.C., at the Assembly meeting Sept. 23.
See the Report to Readers, on page 1

Good Wisconsin sense

THE Kenosha (Wis.) **Evening News** Sept. 19, carried the results of a poll taken by Wisconsin's Sen. William Proxmire. The story said:

"Proxmire said the biggest surprise to him in the poll was that Wisconsin citizens by a margin of nearly 4 to 1 favored reaching an agreement with Soviet Russia, based on inspection and control, to suspend nuclear testing.

"He said the sharp increase in support for such an agreement . . . was 'exactly the opposite of what I had expected.' One-third of the responses were received before the Soviets resumed nuclear testing."

A peace sitdown

The kind of reporting you find in the GUARDIAN, such as the twofold coverage of the Trafalgar Square peace rally, on page 7, is what makes the paper special. Your friends need the GUARDIAN too. Do them a favor—send them an introductory sub. Just $1 for 13 weeks.

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The National Guardian
197 E. 4th St. New York 9, N.Y.

UN Assembly

(Continued from Page 1)

ing of a test-ban agreement in the plan's first stage, a linking of disarmament and testing which the Soviet Union has been demanding.

NOW ON A NEW LEVEL: The joint statement of principles, the first U.S.-Soviet agreement in this field since the test moratorium of 1958, and the Kennedy outline, the first of its kind by the U.S., suddenly moved the whole disarmament problem onto a new level. They integrated U.S. and Soviet views at a considerably more advanced stage than at any time in the 15 years of arms debate. Also, this assures a new disarmament conference, requiring the Assembly to decide only the question of its composition.

The second response to the Soviet testing came at the Belgrade conference of 25 neutralist governments Sept. 1-6. The conferees were prompted by the Siberian explosions into demanding an immediate "suspension" of all testing, and India last week asked that the call be placed on the Assembly agenda. Absent from the agenda proposal was a phrase that produced important controversy in the agenda committee debate.

The U.S.-British item on testing referred to the "urgent need for a treaty" to ban tests "under effective international control." India's Krishna Menon refused to accept tihs wording. He said tests had to be stopped, "treaty or no treaty." Other committee members pointed out that the treaty-writing had proved long and complex, so it was necessary to reimpose the voluntary moratorium. The committee voted to put both items on the agenda.

SOVIET VIEW: The U.S.S.R. opposed both items, arguing that test-suspension should be combined with the agenda item on disarmament. This kept the Belgraders in the middle, where Indian Prime Minister Nehru prefers to be, but an unnoticed shift was taking place. The push from the brink was being exerted with such force that its effects might be felt more acutely by the U.S. than by the U.S.S.R., which had launched the resumption of testing. If the Assembly adopts the Indian resolution, the Soviets would have achieved what has always been their policy goal — the suspension of all tests, including so-called low-yield underground blasts, for which there is no "effective international control." Thus they would doubtless be willing to comply with the Assembly call, while the U.S. would be placed in the position either of defying the Assembly or abandoning its long-held insistence on a "foolproof" inspection treaty.

In a third response to the heightened threat of war, the Assembly, at U.S. initiative, became the scene of exploratory talks—between Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko and Secy. of State Rusk—for formal East-West negotiations on the Berlin problem. The rigid attitude of both Washington and Bonn toward the Soviet initiative in the Central European crisis has softened after Aug. 31.

But slowly taking over the spotlight from these crucial war-or-peace issues at the UN was a long-time underlying manifestation of the age—the breakup, like the crumbling of a giant ice barrier, of colonialism. The great push away from a world of brinkmanship was most forceful and persistent in this area, and it was within the framework of this struggle that the UN's own gravest problem

HOT WAR IN THE CONGO
A gas depot burns

had been created and had to be resolved.

DAG'S DEATH: The untimely death of Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold did not produce the crisis over the leadership of the UN secretariat. History and Hammarskjold had already elevated this question to a central role in the maintenance of world peace. With the UN disaster in the Katanga, Hammarskjold would have returned to so rebellious an Asesmbly that he might have been compelled to resign.

Yet Hammarskjold's death intensified the crisis over UN failure in the Congo. For the socialist and uncommitted worlds the blame for the UN's humiliation in the Congo, and the death of its Secretary General, rests squarely on the colonial powers, or more specifically on the financial interests these governments represent politically, which own Union Miniere du Haut Katange, on whose vast mining resources the Congo must depend for a viable economy.

To many Africans and Asians the UN Secretary General did not die by accident. The government paper in Ghana called it a "No. 1 international murder." Congolese Prime Minister Cyrille Adoula used the term "assassination" and said it was "not the first of its kind perpetrated by the monied powers." Bitter denunciations of "vested interests" came from Adoula, Nehru, Prime Minister Bandaranaike of Ceylon and from most of the other neutralists. So distressed were Hammarskjold's own UN officials that they made a point, unprecedentedly, of informing newsmen of the roles played by the Union Miniere, Belgium, France and Britain in the UN's defeat. Correspondents were told that the Union Miniere general manager acted as Katanga Premier Tshombe's intermediary, along with emissaries from Northern Rhodesia's Prime Minister Sir Roy Welensky; that captured Irish troops at Jadotville were held in a Union Miniere "guest-house", that the UN had suffered more from a single French jet flown by a Belgian pilot than from all other sources; that the British delayed permission for UN jets from Ethiopia to fly over its territories; that the Katanga mercenaries had loaded vehicles bearing Red Cross insignia with bazookas and used them as tanks; that American transport planes, vital for flying in reinforcements from other parts of the Congo, had arrived only after the cease-fire. The truce left the Katanga secession intact and nearly half the 500 mercenaries the UN had been trying to kick out were still there to maintain Tshombe's army.

WAR THREAT: The U.S., however, had supported the UN action in Katanga for the same reason that Hammarskjold, facing an upcoming Assembly with many dissatisfied members, had finally decided to try to carry out the Security Council directive of last Feb. 21, which called for force if necessary to restore Katanga to the Congo. This reason was that the leftist followers of Deputy Prime Minister Gizenga in the Congo were growing in influence with every day that Katanga remained outside the fold. The pressure was so great the Americans feared that Adoula would be forced to launch a Congolese invasion of Katanga himself and, if successful, this would mean the capture not only of Tshombe but also of Union Miniere.

This threat of a new civil war in the Congo remains, of course, and the UN officials have assured Hammarskjold's Congo Advisory Committee, made up of African delegations here, that the cease-fire was merely "a local military arrangement in no way affecting the UN's continuing responsibility under the Feb. 21 resolution." In support of this declaration they have continued to seek a build-up of aircraft, military and transport, in the Congo and to increase pressure on Belgium, France and Britain (which controls the foreign affairs of Rhodesia) to evacuate the mercenaries and military advisers remaining in Katanga, the organizers of anti-UN resistance.

SECRETARIAT ISSUE: Nevertheless, the UN's ineffectiveness to date against the last-ditch fight of colonialism in the Congo brought growing sentiment for a "radical" solution to the problem of UN's future leadership. According to Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia, a majority existed in support of a scheme proposed by India, Ghana and the United Arab Republic for a secretary general governed in his decisions by a triumvirate of deputies from the East, West and unaligned groupings. While the U.S.S.R. was expected to accept such a plan in place of its own demand for a tri-headed directorate, the U.S. planned to fight for continuation of the old system. The leadership question must be decided first in the Security Council, where members have veto power.

It appeared likely the Assembly would find a way to provide temporary secretariat leadership, avoiding any formal title. But whatever the mechanics of the solution, the entire experience had brought the colonial conflict to the forefront of UN affairs. Testifying to this was the choice as Assembly president of an African, Mongi Slim of Tunisia, who shortly before had argued his country's case against France in the UN. Slim, in his inaugural address bluntly attacked colonial policies and set a precedent by criticizing a member state by name—South Africa. The underdeveloped nations were also charting a fight to get the Assembly to set dates for the liberation of most of the world's remaining dependent territories.

CHINA DELAY? In this and the other prime "have-not versus have" fight, the struggle for an expanded economic development program and UN capital fund, the U.S.S.R. would be a leader and the U.S. at a disadvantage. Hence, striving to maintain a "balance" of diplomatic leverage between the cold-war antagonists, the small powers were searching for a way to appease the Americans. Looming as the likeliest victim was the Chinese People's Republic. There was a good chance that China's entry might be postponed another year through creation of a "study" committee to report to the 17th session.

The Taiwan representative, Dr. T. F. Tsiang, however, was threatening to veto admission of Outer Mongolia in the Security Council this week. Because the U.S.S.R. couples Outer Mongolia's application with Mauretania's, the latter would thus lose out, too. This may cause such hostility toward Tsiang, especially among the African states associated with France, that Peking might be voted in despite wide reluctance at this moment to inflict so great a blow to U.S. prestige.

But the delegates are deeply aware as well that without China theer can be no decisive disaramament negotiations and probably no final resolution of the reorganization problem at the UN, which involves reconstituting the Security Council as well as the secretariat leadership. And this means that without China there can be no final push away from the brink and brinkmanship.

Newsweek scoops Kennedy on his own speech in UN

THE OCT. 2 ISSUE of Newsweek carried this report on President Kennedy's speech to the UN: "Mr. Kennedy's disarmament plan caught the imagination of the United Nations delegates, but what pleased them most was his general conciliatory tone. Mr. Kennedy's backing for the UN cheered the audience."

Newsweek went to press on Sept. 22; **President Kennedy made his speech on Sept. 25.**

Beyond the line to lunacy

Following is an excerpt from a column by Walter Lippmann which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune *Sept. 14.*

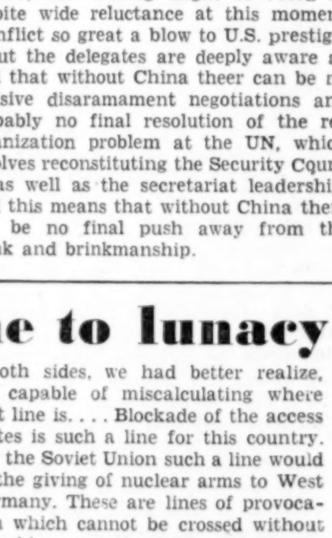
IN COLD BLOOD no government can, no government will, start a nuclear war with an equal nuclear power. Only a moral idiot would press the button. The poor dears among us who say that they have had enough and now let us drop the bomb, have no idea what they are talking about. They have not been able to imagine and realize what a nuclear war would be like. But the governments know quite well what a nuclear war would be like. That is why there is bluff at the core of any threat to initiate a nuclear exchange. There is also a wishful belief that the bluff will work because it will not be called.

Nevertheless, though a nuclear war would be lunacy and is unlikely, it is an ever-present possibility. Why? Because, however irrational it may be to commit suicide, a nation can be provoked and exasperated to a point where its nervous system cannot endure inaction, where only violence can relieve its feelings.

This is one of the facts of life in the middle of the 20th Century. It is as much a reality as a megaton bomb, and in the nuclear age it must be given weighty consideration in the calculation of policy. **There is a line of intolerable provocation beyond which the reactions are uncontrollable.** The governments must know where that line is and they must stay well back of it. Here lies the greatest danger of miscalculation, and therefore of war.

Both sides, we had better realize, are capable of miscalculating where that line is. . . . Blockade of the access routes is such a line for this country. For the Soviet Union such a line would be the giving of nuclear arms to West Germany. These are lines of provocation which cannot be crossed without provoking uncontrollable, indeed suicidal, reactions.

This being the nuclear age, it is the paramount rule of international politics that a great nuclear power must not put another great nuclear power in a position where it must choose between suicide and surrender. And the corollary of this rule is that no great nuclear power must put itself in a position where it has made such absolute and such rigid stipulations that it can no longer negotiate an honorable and tolerable accommodation.



Kallas in the Teamster News, Jersey City
"Well . . . he did balance the budget."

'COUNTRY-SAVERS' ARE PROPAGANDIZING

The ultra-right steps up its crusade inside the U. S.

By Lawrence Emery

THE ULTRA-RIGHT-WING crusade against what it calls anti-anti-communism continued to gather steam last month:

- On Sept. 21 Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.), chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, named a subcommittee to "study and appraise" charges that right-wing military officers are being "muzzled" by the Pentagon (GUARDIAN, Sept. 25).
- On the Sept. 16 week end a convention in Chicago of delegates representing right-wing organizations across the country voted to establish a new "Fraternity of Country Savers" to coordinate their activities; estimates of the number of such groups range from 1,000 to 3,000.
- The introduction of militantly anti-communist study courses in secondary school systems continued to spread.

NO DATE SET: The Senate subcommittee is headed by John Stennis (D-Miss.) and its members are Democrats Stuart Symington (Mo.), Henry M. Jackson (Wash), E. L. Bartlett (Alaska), and Strom Thurmond (S.C.) who demanded the probe, and Republicans Leverett Saltonstall (Mass.), Styles Bridges (N.H.), and Margaret Chase Smith (Me.).

No date has been set for start of the hearings, but they are expected to get under way late this year and continue in the next session of Congress which begins in January. Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker has asked to be a witness at the hearings, but no action has been taken on his request. Walker's removal from command of the 24th Infantry Division in Germany on charges of indoctrinating his troops with material similar to that of the John Birch Society and of attempting to influence his troops' voting was one of the issues that led to the hearings.

While the subcommittee was being named, a request came from Texas for an investigation of the Fourth Army's role in a right-wing two-day "regional strategy seminar" which started on Sept. 22 in San Antonio under sponsorship of the local Junior Chamber of Commerce.

The request came from State Representative Dan Struve, a Democrat, who said "the lectures are to be, as advertised, politically oriented to the radical right." He said the Fourth Army was "to participate in and lend its great prestige" to the seminar, and that at least one Army Reserve captain had been placed on active duty to coordinate the program.

THE KEY ISSUE: It was a memorandum from Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.) to the President and the Secretary of Defense protesting the military's participation in such "seminars" to indoctrinate the public that was the main issue leading to the Senate hearings.

Herblock in the Washington Post
Army education program

Conrad in the St. Paul Dispatch
"I hold in my hand a list of 179 million U.S. underground communist agents!"

The Chicago conference of right-wing groups was held at the Sheraton-Chicago Hotel with about 700 delegates. Its prime mover was Rev. Dr. Billy James Hargis and it was held in conjunction with the seventh annual convention of his We, the People. Hargis is also head of the Christian Crusade, which he calls "America's largest anti-communist organization." Robert Welch, head of the John Birch Society, was one of the speakers (Hargis is a member of the Birch Society's advisory board) along with Rep. John H. Rousselot (R-Calif.), Willis E. Stone, manufacturer and chairman of the National Committee for Economic Freedom, and Dr. George J. Hess, president of the Assn. of American Physicians and Surgeons, a group to the right of the American Medical Assn.

Rousselot, a member of the Birch Society, said: "We cannot continue to put into office people who, by lack of understanding or by purpose, vote for socialism or related forms of tyranny, and survive as a nation. In our fight for survival we have to learn that socialism is only the advance state of communism and that by enacting socialistic legislation we merely soften up our country for the eventual take-over. So, analyzing the New Frontier, it seems to me to be the history of the advancement of Fabian socialism and related philosophies. It has done little to advance the cause of free constitutional government."

'SLOPPY THINKING': Rousselot said many programs of the Kennedy Administration follow the Communist Party line "but the American public has been so conditioned by this kind of sloppy thinking that they no longer even recognize a communist idea when they see it." He said 70% of government officeholders are "outright socialists."

Welch spoke on his society's favorite slogan: "This is a republic, not a democracy—let's keep it that way." He said that democracy is "rule by the mob while a republic is rule by law . . . Despite Warren and his Supreme Court and allies and dupes, we are not yet a democracy."

The conference held panel discussions on improving and stimulating home study groups, setting up speakers clubs, lobbying (both locally and Federally), writing letters to the press and conducting local precinct work. Resolutions called for a Congressional investigation of the CP's "anti-anti-communism conspiracy"; repeal of the income tax; abolition of the closed shop; U.S. withdrawal from the UN; opposition to the establishment of a U.S. Disarmament Commission; a stop to the flow of "communist propaganda mail" to U.S. residents; organized backing for the House Committee on Un-American Activities; reduction of foreign aid; and an end of social security.

AGAINST GUN BILL: A resolution opposed a Congressional bill to require registration with the FBI of personal guns owned by citizens; Welch has written on this point: "No dictator-tyrant can long rule a people previously accustomed to freedom where private firearms are plentiful among its citizenry."

Delegates received a variety of rubber stamps for marking their mail with slogans such as "Jesus Saves," "Atheism Is the Opiate of the Marxist," "Let's Flatten Fidel," and "The Summit Leads to Disaster."

Hargis said he had been asked by a conservative congressman (he did not identify him) to help coordinate activities of right-wing groups. He announced that the new Fraternity of Country Savers will hold quarterly meetings in Washington. He said its program will be to set up conservative groups in every community, each with a "right-wing library," to step up writing to congressmen, and to get local businessmen to sponsor local radio and TV programs on patriotism to show them that "patriotism pays." He called the coalition a "last-ditch effort to save America."

Hargis is a 36-year-old fundamentalist evangelist of Tulsa, Okla. He founded the Christian Crusade in 1950 and now claims 100,000 members in 40 states. The Crusade operates on a budget of $75,000 a month, mails out 250,000 pieces of literature a month, has a staff of 50 and plans to build its own headquarters in Tulsa this fall.

ON RADIO DAILY: Hargis conducts daily radio and TV talks in Tulsa, and stages rallies across the country. He travels in an air-conditioned bus equipped with offices and sleeping quarters. His recorded daily messages are broadcast on 70 radio stations from New England to the West Coast.

His Crusade's annual convention early in August drew 700 delegates and featured Welch as keynote speaker (the final session was addressed by Clarence E. Manion, former dean of the Notre Dame College of Law). Hargis told the delegates: "Were it not for the moral and financial support given international communism by misguided do-gooders and outright traitors within this country, international communism would have died on the vine many years ago . . . Clean up communism internally and America's problem with communism internationally will be solved." He also told them that the liberalism of the National Council of Churches makes it "one of the greatest threats to internal security that we have."

Hargis announced to his convention that the president of the Mutual Broadcasting System was willing to give him a half-hour weekly program coast-to-coast for six months at a special low rate reserved for religious groups. The cost: $38,870. In a prayer auction conducted in the best evangelical style, Hargis raised the full amount on the spot.

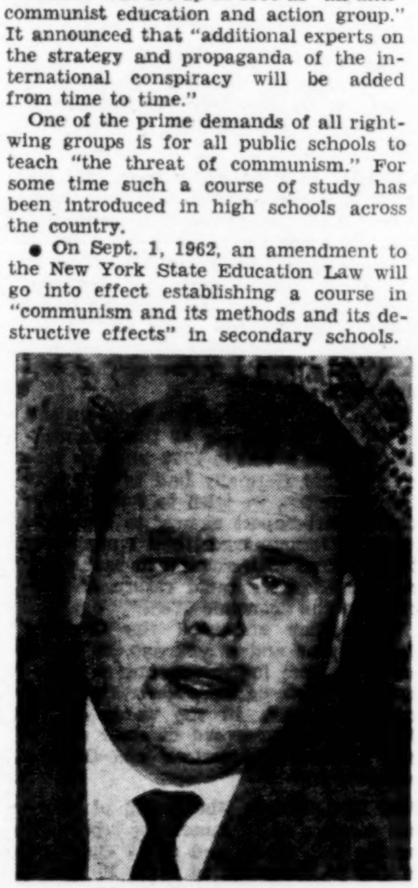
President of Mutual is Robert C. Hurleigh, a former associate of Fulton Lewis Jr., conservative commentator and columnist. Hargis said of his appearance on the network: "This could be the key that would save the country."

NEW OUTFITS: Even as Hargis was forming his coalition, new groups were appearing around the country.

- In Cleveland a band of educators, church leaders and businessmen incorporated themselves as the Cleveland Council for Information on Communism "to alert the area to the methods, history and perils of communism."
- In St. Louis six Roman Catholic bishops and priests were named as the first members of the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation Council. The foundation itself was set up in 1958 as "an anti-communist education and action group." It announced that "additional experts on the strategy and propaganda of the international conspiracy will be added from time to time."

One of the prime demands of all right-wing groups is for all public schools to teach "the threat of communism." For some time such a course of study has been introduced in high schools across the country.

- On Sept. 1, 1962, an amendment to the New York State Education Law will go into effect establishing a course in "communism and its methods and its destructive effects" in secondary schools.


BILLY JAMES HARGIS
A self-appointed savior

- In Dallas, Tex., a new course on "the principles of American freedom in contrast to the tyranny of communism" has been incorporated into the American history curriculum.
- In Florida a new law requires all high schools by September, 1962, to institute a 30-hour course on "Americanism versus Communism."
- The Louisiana legislature has voted $30,000 annually for seminars for high school students on the tactics and strategy of communism.
- In California an advisory committee has been formed to draw up proposals on methods of teaching about communism.

In many other states such studies are either mandatory or are strongly recommended by legislatures or state boards of education.

Resistance to such studies, once strong, is dwindling. The magazine **The Nation's Schools**, in a recent survey of school superintendents on the question, "Should a specific course on communism be taught in all high schools?", got this response: 37% No; 27% Yes on an optional basis; 36% Yes as a required study.

You won't see this exclusive Guardian story elsewhere—why not clip it and send it to a friend?

NEW YORK

Hold the date!

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In New York

NEW U.S. ENVOY HELPED RESCUE HITLER'S INDUSTRIALISTS

Clay has lots of ex-Nazi friends at Bonn

By Ed Sears

ON MARCH 29, 1960, a group of distinguished - looking businessmen crowded into a dining room in New York's Hotel Biltmore to hear a trim, determined man address their annual luncheon meeting. Pleased by the size of his audience, the speaker began by making the following observation:

"I was born in the State of Georgia and it was a lot longer than ten years before anybody there would have sat down to break bread with the people who were in occupation after we lost the war down there."

The man who so closely identified himself with the cause of the defeated slave-owners of the Confederacy was Gen. Lucius Du Bignon Clay, son of Alexander Stephen Clay, U.S. senator from Georgia. The general, President Kennedy's personal representative in West Berlin, was hailed by thousands when he arrived there on Sept. 19 to pledge a fight for their "freedom." But the audience which reacted warmly to his 1960 remarks in New York consisted of members of the German American Chamber of Commerce, representing the interests of the defeated industrialists of Nazi Germany.

'CREDIT' IS HIS: The camaraderie between this descendant of Southern slave-owners and the German industrialists, who also made use of slave labor, began in the early postwar years when Clay, as U.S. High Commissioner in Germany, helped scuttle the U.S. decartelization program. Taking full credit for the re-emergence of the monopolies which had dominated Hitler's Germany, Clay told his audience:

"In a way, I suppose, I might even call myself the predecessor of this organization. I think it was in 1945 when we recognized that Germany had to export to live. Therefore, we tried to form a little joint export-import agency to begin rebuilding German trade, and I might say it was indeed instrumental in paving the way for the very rapid return of Germany to the economic West."

When Clay addressed the Chamber about a year and a half ago, he spoke, not as a mere individual, but as chairman of that organization's Board of Sponsors, which, in the words of the Chamber, is "composed of some of the most prominent American and German businessmen."

THE SPONSORS: The Board of Sponsors consists of 11 Americans representing big U.S. firms, and of 17 Germans. Of the 17 Germans, at least 10 played an important part in the Nazi war effort, while at least one more represents a firm headed by a convicted war criminal. At least three of the 10 were on the U.S. war criminal list, at least another two served time in Allied jails, and at least six had high positions in firms which used slave labor.

One important sponsor is Dr. Alexander Wilhelm Menne, vice president of the

ADOLF EICHMANN
A job for him in hiding

Federation of German Industries, the German equivalent of the National Association of Manufacturers. Menne is also a member of board of Farbwerke Hoechst A. G., whose interests he represents on the German-American Chamber of Commerce. Farbwerke Hoechst is one of the three main successors of the notorious IG Farben, dissolved by the Allies.

Menne's boss is Fritz Jaehne, chairman of the board of Farbwerke Hoechst. During the war, Jaehne was one of Hitler's Wehrwirtschaftsfuehrers (war economy leaders). On July 30, 1958, a U.S. military court sentenced him to 18 months imprisonment for war crimes.

Jaehne is also represented in the Chamber by Max Klee, the group's president. Klee is also president of the Inter-continental Chemical Corp., whose offices are in the Empire State Building.

POISON GAS: Another former IG Farben man on the Board of Sponsors was Ulrich Haberland, board chairman of Farbenfabriken AG, which **Fortune** (August, 1961) described as "the largest remaining chunk of the Farben Empire." As wartime manager of IG Farben's Bayer Chemical Works in Leverkusen, Haberland played an important role in the development of adamist poison gas, forcing Soviet prisoners-of-war to produce this gas. According to testimony at the Nuremberg trials, adamist gas, "despite gasmask protection . . . works its way through the skin and has a destructive effect on the human organism." (Haberland died Sept. 10, 1961.)

West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, who has been demanding nuclear weapons for the new Wehrmacht, awarded Haberland the "Federal Cross of Merit with Star."

Chairman of the board of Farbenfarbriken Bayer is Fritz ter Meer. Ter Meer, as managing director of IG Farben, was personally responsible for poison gas production and experiments on concentration camp prisoners.

On July 30, 1958, a U.S. military court sentenced ter Meer to seven years for war crimes.

WAR PROFITS: Another sponsor is Dr. Hans C. Boden, president and general manager of Allgemeine Elektrizitaets Gesellschaft (AEG), the German General Electric. From 1925 to 1929 Boden was general secretary of the German Young Plan delegation, which obtained U.S. capital to prepare German industry for World War II. During the war, AEG was a major supplier of the armed forces. Boden, as its deputy chairman, played a key role in the whole Nazi war effort.

Sitting as a sponsor with Boden, is Dr. Hans Reuter, head of Demag AG, which builds cranes, bridges, port facilities and steel mills. Reuter became head of Demag in 1940, when the Nazis were beginning to roll through Europe. Demag expanded greatly from Nazi war contracts.

Another war profiteer who is a sponsor of the Chamber is Dr. Herman Reusch, president and managing director of Gutehoffnungshutte, a huge iron and steel complex. Hitler put Reusch in charge of incorporating the mines of Yugoslavia and Greece into the Nazi war production scheme. After the war, Ruhr workers refused to work under Reusch. When, in April, 1948, the Western allies named him chief of the Control Commission for Steel Production, the workers threatened a general strike, forcing withdrawal of his name.

Dr. Herman Winkhaus, another member of Gen. Clay's Board of Sponsors, is head of Mannesmann AG, coal and iron steel combine with mines and factories in South America, Africa, Canada and Easton, Pa. Winkhaus served both as technical director of Mannesmann, and as coal production coordinator for Nazi Germany during the war. Mannesmann was a company particularly favored by Hitler. It profited greatly from the use of slave labor furnished by the SS and it acquired many properties in Germany and the occupied countries through "Aryanization."

TWO-YEAR TERM: Konrad Kaletsch, another sponsor of the Chamber, was jailed for two years by U.S. authorities for the part he played in running the Flick industrial empire. The Flick concern was one of Germany's most notorious employers of slave labor. At Nuremberg, Friedrich Flick, wartime head of the concern, got a seven-year sentence for using slave labor and for contributing to the coffers of the SS.

Flick, who is now first vice chairman of Daimler-Benz AG, manufacturers of Mercedes-Benz autos, was represented on the Board of Sponsors by Dr. Fritz Koenecke, until recently general manager of the concern.

During the war Koenecke was the chairman of the board and manager of Continental Gummiwerke, a firm which, according to the U.S. Army, employed labor from Neuengamme Concentration Camp, and a board member of a large bank, Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft AG. This bank, through a subsidiary, supplied Franco's armies with arms in the Spanish Civil War.

IN ABSENTIA: The board chairman of Daimler-Benz is Dr. Hermann J. Abs, who represents the Deutsche Bank on the Board of Sponsors. He, too, was placed on the U.S. Army list of industrial and financial figures.

Abs, furthermore, is a convicted war criminal. A court in Zagreb, Yugoslavia, sentenced him, in absentia, to 15 years in prison for war crimes.

A bulletin issued in November, 1946, by the U.S. Office of Military Government in Germany says of him:

"Abs was the guiding spirit of the villainous Deutsche Bank, which combined an unusual concentration of economic power with active collaboration in the criminal policies of the Nazi regime. Hermann Abs' Deutsche Bank acted as top agent of the German Government, and served the economic penetration of the satellite states and the occupied countries of Europe. . . . The foreign department of the Deutsche Bank rested in the hands of four men who worked under the supervision of Hermann Abs. He devoted his entire attention to extending German domination throughout Europe."

GEN. LUCIUS CLAY
A man with connections

PROFIT FROM GAS: Under Hitler, Abs was the director of 40 companies, including the notorious IG Farben. He thus drew direct profits from the production of "Zyklon" gas, manufactured by IG Farben for use in concentration camps.

He was also a member of the advisory

Stuttgarter Zeitung, Germany

"So your name is Schickelgruber? Good, then there won't be any trouble about your pension."

council of the Reichsbank. The gold from the teeth of the murdered concentration camp victims was stored in the vaults of this bank.

Abs today plays a dominant role in West German economic life. He holds more positions as director or board chairman or vice chairman than any other man in the Federal Republic.

In 1954 he made the main economic speech at the convention of Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union. In April, 1955, Franco honored him with an official state banquet.

Adenauer has awarded him the Great Federal Merit Cross with Star.

THE ELITE: At least two-thirds of the German-American Chamber of Commerce's German sponsors and the companies they represent thus played important roles in Hitler's drive for world domination. They represent Germany's industrial elite, the real power behind the Kaiser, Hitler and Adenauer.

To Americans who nurture the illusion that these men have changed their ways, the following information should be a sober reminder:

First, some of the men are the leading exponents of German rearmament. Just as they were eager to make profits under the Nazis' rearmament program, so are they eager to profit under Adenauer's.

Second, some of these firms have been shielding Nazi war criminals throughout the world. When Adolf Eichmann was living in Argentina, he was employed by Daimler-Benz, the firm of Abs and Flick.

Third, the July, 1961, issue of the **German-American Trade News**, the organ of the German American Chamber of Commerce, published a map purporting to show Berlin's trade pattern with the rest of the world. Included within the boundaries of Germany are not only the German Democratic Republic but also Pomerania, Silesia, and East Prussia, which belong to Poland and the Soviet Union.

These are the companions of Georgia's Gen. Clay, chairman of the Board of Sponsors of the German American Chamber of Commerce and the new U.S. Ambassador to West Germany.

NEW YORK

Kumar Goshal
reports on
AFRICA
On his return from a 10-week tour of the continent
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PEGGY MIDDLETON

The people take over

By Peggy Middleton
Mayor of Greenwich, London County Councilor and Justice of the Peace

LONDON

WITH MORE than 10,000 other Londoners I took a risk on Sunday and with 1,000 of them I have now lost my amateur status. I now come within the purview of the Criminal Law. Dismayed by the growing support for the civil disobedience methods of the Committee of 100, Home Secretary R. A. Butler on Wednesday last invoked the Public Order Act of 1936, used only once since its creation to deal with Mosley Fascist demonstrations in the Thirties, and never before invoked against those who avow non-violence.

Robbed of their first line of leaders by the imprisonment the week before of Bertrand Russell, Arnold Wesker, the playwright; Christopher Logue, the poet; and Michael Scott, the priest, the anti-bomb demonstrators remained firm and the Committee of 100 issued a list of their new committee which included such distinguished names as Augustus John, England's greatest living painter; Sir Herbert Read, Professor Le Gros Clark, Lord Boyd Orr, and Shelagh Delaney, John Osborne, Doris Lessing and Alan Sillitoe.

WIDE SUPPORT: Shaken by the police threat of the Public Order Act, Canon Collins and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament executive reviewed their previous attitude, which had cold-shouldered the Committee of 100 and while still stating that they did not favor its method, announced that they would go into the square to see fair play, and in protest at the curbing of civil liberties.

The British Communist Party, also out of sympathy with the passive resistance methods, nevertheless issued a call from the pages of the **Daily Worker** on Saturday: "At this moment of grave danger, London's citizens should take every opportunity on Sunday to exercise their democratic rights to protest against the attacks on civil liberties . . ."

Crash barriers and 4,000 police awaited the demonstrators at 5 p.m., a time agreed upon to allow for the dispersal of the Battle of Britain parade! Into the square they came, 5,000 of them according to the BBC, supported by thousands of cheering citizens, and with seven Members of Parliament as unofficial observers. Arms linked came the artists and the writers, the scientists and the professors and then the stream of others, young and old. Once in, there was no "out," for those who left the square for urgent reasons were not allowed to return.

POLICE VIOLENCE: A previous engagement had prevented me from joining the evening demonstration, and at 10 p.m. I was watching the television news when I saw a shot of police manhandling unresistant sitters. Three of my children were in that square and I left at once to join them. From 11 p.m. onwards the atmosphere changed and the behavior of the police deteriorated so that Lord Kilbracken stated later, "I shall raise this in the House of Lords. There was no excuse for the police using Gestapo methods."

In Bow Street police station to which I was taken, I saw a spread-eagled limp young man hurled to the floor so that his head sounded like a cracked egg shell. I protested and gave notice that I should raise the matter elsewhere. At 1 in the morning I took a taxi to Trafalgar Square to see whether my daughter was among the last young stalwarts protesting peacefully that their generation might be allowed to live. She was not, but five feet from me a prone student was kicked viciously, and apparently for no reason, by a policeman while others were dragged face downwards across the road, and another was hurled into the fountain.

CONSCIENCE STIRRED: So ended, says the **Daily Mail,** "The Battle of Trafalgar Square," with 1,300 citizens charged, including Canon Collins—who protested that he was not part of the Committee of 100—and Fenner Brockway, M.P.

Fines in the range of 1 to 4 pounds have been imposed on those willing to pay, while others have chosen jail.

The Committee of 100 can notch up a triumph; the conscience of the people has stirred. The Council of Civil Liberties is collecting information to assist the police to clean their own stables. What was intended by the government as a disincentive has proved a rallying ground for all who seek to keep alive, in a threatened world, the spark of human dignity.

Anti-A-test rally at UN

A DEMONSTRATION against nuclear weapons tests and for disarmament will be held at United Nations Plaza Tuesday, Oct. 10, from 4:30 to 7:30 p.m. It is sponsored by the Conference of Greater New York Peace Groups.

•

Student peace conference

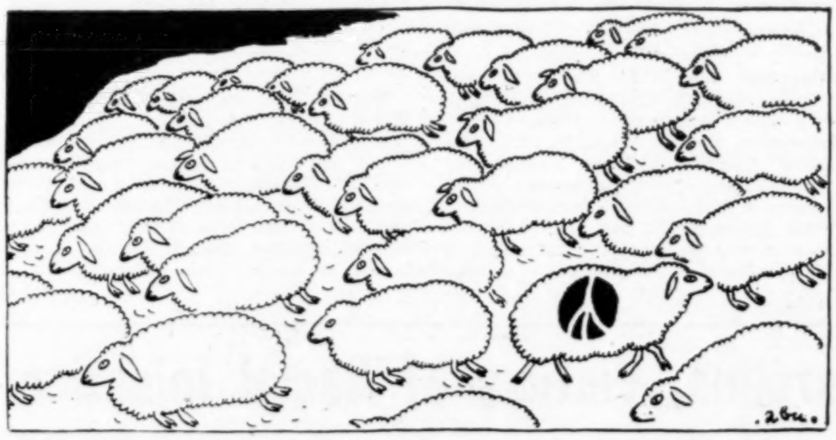
STUDENT Peace Union, a national student peace organization, was scheduled to hold its founding conference for the Philadelphia area Oct. 1, from 3 to 9 p.m., at the University of Pennsylvania's Christian Assn. Bldg., 3601 Locust St.

Bayard Rustin and David McReynolds were on the speaker list. Dan Larkin of Haverford College is program chairman.

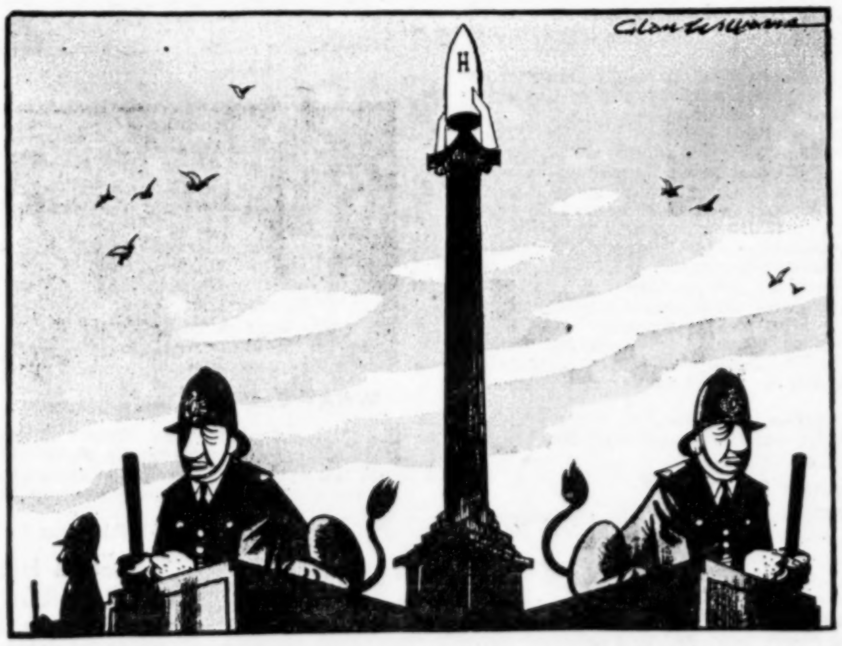
Battle of Trafalgar Sq.

Vicky in the London Evening Standard

"Breach of the peace."



Abu in the London Observer



Williams in Reynolds News, London

Home Secretary Butler expects . . .

GORDON SCHAFFER

Peace rally ignores ban

By Gordon Schaffer
Guardian staff correspondent

LONDON

THE GOVERNMENT said that the great sitdown Sunday, Sept. 17, in Trafalgar Square to protest nuclear arms and to demand a peaceful settlement of the Berlin crisis would not take place. On Sept. 13 Bertrand Russell and 31 other members of the Committee of 100 which organized the demonstration were arrested and jailed. In an hour, the gap in the leadership was filled. The government replied by declaring Trafalgar Square and a square mile around it out of bounds and urged people to stay away. Labor leaders made no protest when a law designed to stop the violence of Fascists before the war was used to try to suppress non-violent pacifists. The former Minister for Home Affairs in the Labor government, Lord Morrison, rushed into print Sunday morning to say he, too, would have banned the meeting.

But the politicians who believed the people of London would be denied the right to their own city must be living in a world of unreality. Sunday afternoon the people gave their answer. Four thousand police cut off the square to prevent a proposed march up Whitehall and past the Cenotaph, where a few hours before London had honored the men who died defending Britain against a Nazi invasion by generals who now lead NATO.

FAR INTO NIGHT: Until long into night the contest went on. There were dangerous moments when the massed onlookers were pushed back by the police and some ugly episodes when demonstrators and police lost their tempers. But generally the principle of non-violence was observed. The police banned loud speakers, but they had no authority over the nearby Church of St. Martins in the Fields. And from there occasionally came loudspeaker messages of encouragement: "The world is watching you," "Stand by the people in the square," "This is the people's answer to the bomb." Canon Collins of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, who was one of those arrested, and members of the British Peace Committee were there to demonstrate their solidarity.

Most of the arrests were made as demonstrators broke through the ring of police circling the square, and sat in the road.

The police hired motor coaches normally used for seaside holiday traffic to haul away the more than 1,000 arrested. Overwhelmingly, the crowd showed its sympathy with the prisoners. Many of the policemen brought in from all over London and surrounding counties to guard the "forbidden" square mile told onlookers that they, too, were against the bomb.

IN SCOTLAND, TOO: In Scotland the same weekend there were more than 200 arrests.

Dr. Linus Pauling and his wife, here in London for an international conference between representatives of the World Peace Council and nuclear disarmament groups from many countries, watched the Trafalgar Square demonstration. "An inspiring moment," he commented.

LEADERS PETITION KENNEDY FOR CLEMENCY

Britons in appeal for Braden and Wilkinson

PETITION TO THE PRESIDENT: SOUTHERN INTEGRATION LEADERS ASK FREEDOM FOR BRADEN
Delegation at the White House (from left), Dr. Samuel Newman, Danville, Va.; Rev. Fazal Masih, Pakistan observer; Dr. James McBride Dabbs, South Carolina; David Scull, Virginia; Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham; Dr. Oscar K. Rice, Chapel Hill, N. C.; Bishop Edgar A. Love, Baltimore; Rev. Raymond Musser, Portsmouth, Va.; Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, Atlanta; Rev. Murray Cox, Mississippi; Dr. James A. Dombrowski, New Orleans; Rabbi Emmet Frank, Virginia; Louis L. Redding, Delaware; W. Hale Thompson, Newport News, Va.; Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, Montgomery; Rev. William B. Abbot, Norfolk, Va.; Bishop C. Eubank Tucker, Louisville; Rabbi Herbert E. Drooz, Delaware, and Donald Stephen, Delaware.

TWENTY-SEVEN British Members of Parliament, writers and clergymen have sent a petition to President Kennedy asking for clemency for Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson. Braden and Wilkinson are serving one-year terms in Federal prison at Greenville, S.C., for refusal to answer House Un-American Activities Committee questions, on First Amendment grounds.

The Union of Democratic Control in London sponsored the appeal, signed by: Frank Allaun, MP; Phyllis Bottome, author; Vera Brittain, author; C. Day Lewis, author; Sir Philip Gibbs, author; Anthony Greenwood, MP; Clive Jenkins, trade union leader; Sir Compton MacKenzie, author; Sir Leslie Plummer, MP; Rev. Donald O. Soper, superintendent of the West London Methodist Mission, and Stephen Swingler, MP.

'STRIVING FOR ALL': The UDC's appeal said Braden and Wilkinson, "like many others who have suffered similar persecution, are not acting in their own narrow interests, but are striving for all their fellow-Americans, to regain that measure of liberty which was theirs.

"We earnestly beg you to give executive clemency to these two men and to any others who may suffer similar hardship for the same cause. Such action would not only put an end to much undeserved suffering but would also help to re-establish the faith of the rest of the world in the United States as a true champion of liberty."

The UDC's appeal was the third presented recently. A petition for Braden was signed by more than 1,800 integration leaders and presented by a delegation of Southerners headed by Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy of Montgomery, Ala., and Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, executive director of Rev. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Atlanta, Ga. The other appeal was made on behalf of both Braden and Wilkinson by more than 2,000 persons. It was presented to the Justice Dept. by Dr. Otto Nathan and Rev. Lee Ball of the N.Y. Council to Abolish HUAC, and Mrs. Jean Wilkinson.

FOURTH PETITION: A fourth clemency appeal, initiated by 18 prominent Americans including Henry Steele Commager, Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn and Clarence Pickett, is circulating throughout the country and will be presented in a few weeks. Other petitions are being circulated by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 Seventh Ave., New York, and the N.Y. Council to Abolish HUAC, 150 W. 34th St., New York.

In an editorial Aug. 12 the **Afro-American**, a leading Negro newspaper, declared: "Every American who believes in fair play, or who is opposed to segregation's denial of human dignity, or who is disgusted with the House Un-American Activities Committee's roughshod methods, should affix his signature to one of these petitions."

The editorial said more than 1,000 prominent Americans have signed petitions "because they know the only reason Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson are behind bars is because they dared speak and work for the end of racial segregation."

Freedom Riders benefit

DRUMMER Michael Olatunji and his company of 12 dancers will give a benefit performance Sunday, Oct. 8, from 3 to 8 p.m. at the Sportsmen's Lounge, 638 Sawmill River Rd., Yonkers, N.Y.

The benefit, for Congress of Racial Equality Freedom Riders, will be sponsored by Ruby Dee, Ossie Davis and Jimmy McDonald. Tickets are $1.50 in advance and $2 at the door. Reservations can be made through McDonald at YO 9-9070, or CO 7-6270.

ADVERTISEMENT. ADVERTISEMENT. ADVERTISEMENT

Monroe, North Carolina, Victims of Racial Injustice Need Your Help

Why Do Afro-American Citizens in Monroe Need Your Help?

For many years in Monroe, North Carolina, Afro-Americans could not walk the streets without fear of attack. They were constantly beaten, shot and raped by racist mobs, including elements of law enforcement agencies.

On many occasions these mobs, robed in the garb of the KKK (Monroe is KKK Southeastern headquarters), would visit the black community to fetch some "nigra" who hadn't "stayed in his place" or simply to shoot up the area as an after-church, Sunday afternoon recreational.

Because the constituted judicial and civil authorities allowed such conditions to go unchallenged and failed to extend equal protection under law to all citizens, Afro-Americans in Monroe, under the dynamic leadership of Robert F. Williams, were obliged to meet force with force in defense of their homes and families.

No longer did the Klan terrorize the community. But the concept of self-defense raised a terrifying maelstrom of hatred from racist elements against Robert F. Williams, and the black community in general. Monroe became a racial tinder-box, needing only a tiny spark to set off a major conflagration.

On August 27—following a series of peaceful picket lines conducted by Williams and his followers in front of the segregated swimming pool (during which three attempts were made upon Mr. Williams' life in full view of local and state police who stood and laughed)—the Klan *did* cause combustion along racial lines.

Apparently dissatisfied with their heretofore haphazard terrorist tactics, the Klan launched an armed attack against black citizens with, one must presume, every intention of wiping out that community.

What Does the Monroe Defense Committee Plan to Do?

THE MONROE DEFENSE COMMITTEE has already begun a campaign to tell the story of Monroe to the world. An important part of that story is the criminal negligence displayed by Attorney General Robert Kennedy, who turned a deaf ear on repeated pleas from Mr. Williams and others for Federal protection after the complete failure of local and state police to defend Afro-Americans from racist mobs. He (Kennedy) did, however, move swiftly when North Carolina authorities called him for help in catching Williams.

THE MONROE COMMITTEE will also direct its efforts to informing the public of how Afro-Americans in Monroe are forced to endure constant betrayal of their rights in the courts, denial of welfare assistance, and systematic exclusion in employment, housing and recreational facilities.

THE MONROE DEFENSE COMMITTEE will bring its message to as broad a national and international audience as possible. However, it will pay particular attention to Afro-American communities across the nation in an effort to achieve mass solidarity behind the fighting spirit of Monroe citizens and Robert F. Williams.

Apart from the educational job the committee intends to perform, there is the extremely urgent situation concerning the four Freedom Fighters locked up in the Monroe, N.C., jail on kidnaping and similar charges. One of them is only 17 years old.

The legal expenses for these valiant people is most assuredly going to be astronomical. Mr. Williams is a free man, but his friends in jail desperately need financial support.

WHAT Can You Do?

In order for THE MONROE DEFENSE COMMITTEE to be truly effective in accomplishing its desire to aid the people of Monroe, to aid those in jail and to aid those who are still being terrorized by the racists, we must have the active and generous support of all progressive and freedom-loving people.

We urge all interested persons to send their contributions to:

Calvin Hicks, Exec. Secy.
MONROE DEFENSE COMMITTEE
53 West 125th St.,
New York 27, N.Y. Phone: LE 4-8411

Enclosed please find contribution of $......
I would like to know more about the Committee.

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BOOKS

Modern poets

THE GREAT VALUE of M. L. Rosenthal's book, **The Modern Poets: A Critical Introduction,*** is its success in explaining the ways in which many recent poets have viewed their work. Rosenthal's volume provides, for the reader who finds Ezra Pound obscure and Wallace Stevens incomprehensible, the meanings which the poets intended. The book is of interest to the informed student of literature as well, for seldom has a critic so ably helped his readers to achieve the author's own perspective.

It is a single school of modern English-language poetry which is Rosenthal's subject. He is concerned with the movement begun by Yeats, Pound and Eliot, which has become the prevailing school. Yeats is properly presented as the founder (in the English language) of that "religion of art" whereby the artist builds his system of values, not upon any metaphysical, social or political system, but within the world of art itself. An "esthetically created universe of symbols" becomes not only the artist's means of expression, but his sole purpose, and all else is subordinated.

Chapters on Pound and T. S. Eliot demonstrate how this orientation was brought into our times. Some more recent poets are also explained in their own terms; some, like William Carlos Williams, Wallace Stevens, Robert Lowell and Hart Crane at some length, and others more briefly.

AS THE BOOK proceeds, it becomes clear that the esthetically created universe of symbols in every case expresses a non-esthetic subject—the poet. What does Rosenthal do with this seeming contradiction? Apparently, if a poet shares his views with no one else, then his views become esthetic and definitely not social or metaphysical.

The book further makes clear that this poetic movement has grown increasingly sick with the years. Rosenthal comes to this same conclusion with more approval than this critic can muster. These poets, he writes, are the poets of our "dark, subversive, inward self." They deal with the "mysterious depths" within us, the "nighttime world" which "may be the real world." An emphasis upon the morbid, sexual and neurotic is quite necessary, Rosenthal believes, for the modern personality is suffering a crisis of sensibility. "To build a great poem out of the predicament and horror of the lost Self has been the recurrent effort of the most ambitious poetry of the last century."

Rosenthal has stated with accuracy the idea of many recent poets. But not of all recent poets. And this is where Rosenthal runs into real trouble. For he shares the bias he is explaining, and it colors his appreciation of poets outside his chosen tradition.

WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS
A "universe of symbols"

THE READER will discover with pleasure that the author's estheticism has permitted him to do justice in part to leftwing poetry. He has words of appreciation for the great and shamefully neglected Scottish Communist, Hugh MacDiarmid. He writes of the English Left poets of the Thirties with sympathy and in detail. To a lesser degree and with less knowledge he discusses America's radical poets. In each case, however, Rosenthal displays more willingness to be fair than he displays real understanding.

In sum, Rosenthal brings as much sympathy to the creations of a radical poet as he does to the work of a Christian like Eliot or a rightist like Pound. He treats them equally because he regards their ideas as equally irrelevant; he thinks artists ought rather to stick to self-probing.

Rosenthal provides no historical context or development for his poets. He limits the book's usefulness further by omitting reference to poets not writing in English. This is an impossible way to establish the lineage of any tradition in poetry. Finally, one can question Rosenthal's critical acuity when he deals with young poets who have not secured their reputations. One wonders, when three pages are devoted to the trivial W. S. Merwin while the brilliant Gregory Corso is ignored.

—**Lee Baxandall**

**THE MODERN POETS: A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION, by M. L. Rosenthal. Oxford University Press, 417 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C. 300 pp. $6.50.*

NEW VERSES BY BEECHER

Songs of dissent

OUT OF a revolutionary matrix peculiar to American culture, John Beecher has for the last twenty years been writing poetry intended to let America "really know what was going on." In a voice reminiscent of Whitman and William Lloyd Garrison, he has declaimed:

Here I stand
John Beecher on the block
sound of wind and limb and fully formed
fit to bear the burden of my time
until my spine cracks under the weight.

But there have been few bidders. In his two recent volumes of poetry,* Beecher has again put his spirit on the auction block. Certainly this time he should be bought.

The single best short poem Beecher has produced lately, however, appears in neither **In Egypt Land** nor **Phantom City**, but in his "announcement" of those two books. "Homage to a Subversive" deserves to become a permanent part of the literature "H.D.T. 1817-1862" has generated.

Soon, Henry David, wind will fill the land
saluting your centenary. Do you suppose that alma mater's orators
at her memorial solemnities
will quote: "What branches of learning did you
find offered while at Harvard, Mr. Thoreau?"
"All of the branches and none of the roots."
And will Concord's divines in eulogies
of you dwell on the public scandal of
your unchurched life and unrepentant end?
"It's time to make your peace with God, Henry!"
"I'm not aware," the long-faced death-watch heard
you quip, "that God and I have ever quarreled."
The pietists who con your work by rote
forswear you and themselves with servile oaths
to placate golfing clerics, bawds of the press,
snoopers, war-hawks, kept Congressmen. Silent
they stand while lying leaders make our name
odious to men, shield tyrants with our might,
huckster new-packaged servitude for freedom,
and dub the peoples' butchers "democrats."
The coffle of pampered house-slaves will dare hymn
you dead. Come back. They'll turn you in. "How should
a man behave toward this government
today? I answer, that he cannot without
disgrace associate himself with it.

Nothing quite so good as this materializes in **Phantom City**, a collection of short pieces about the citizens of a ghost town. Perhaps "Amputee" most nearly approaches his homage to Thoreau, if only because it tells of Miles Randall who "lost an arm in Spain/ fighting in the Brigade/ but something else was amputated deep inside/ when he came home and found himself/ blacklisted for his heroism." Beecher is at his best when his revolutionist's sensibility is operating, and at his worst when it is turned off.

Beecher is intensely aware of his blood inheritance: Edward Beecher, his great-grandfather and a forgotten hero of the Abolition movement, was the brother of Henry Ward Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stove, author of **Uncle Tom's Cabin.** Perhaps it was that inheritance that led him to refuse to sign the oath required by the Levering Act (California, 1950), and thus to leave San Francisco State College. And one suspects that his Abolitionist heritage contributed to his wonderful fable of Negro and white sharecroppers in Alabama, 1932, though, to be sure, **In Egypt Land** comes straight out of Beecher's experience in the South during the '30s.

In the form of dramatic narrative, Beecher gives us Cliff James, Negro sharecropper wanting his own piece of land but doomed never to get it. James joins the new sharecropper's union, but the sheriff shoots James and after an escape and chase, is responsible for his death in a jail cell. Bare as the fable may be of ornament, it is rich in dramatic power.

Beecher's gift for saying what must be said, saying it straightforwardly, and saying it well is one greatly undervalued in our time. Like Whittier, he approaches greatness by the bald honesty of his statement. What someone has called his "plainsong," his ability to pluck the chords of our most profound ethical commitments in a single stroke, is the essence of his art. "They've turned art into a whorehouse," he said in one of his earlier volumes.

not a real whorehouse but a pseudo whorehouse
if it were a real one that would be different
that would be all right.
But here in America
they buy and sell the artist and don't use him.

—**Robert Merideth**

**IN EGYPT LAND (1960) and PHANTOM CITY (1961), by John Beecher. In hand-sewn wrappers, $2 each, cloth $3, numbered and signed $5. Rampart Press, P.O. Box 1506, Scottsdale, Ariz.*

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Congress record

(Continued from Page 1)

a move by Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.) to eliminate $525 million appropriated for procurement of long-range B-52 or B-58 bombers. The Administration, through Secretary of Defense McNamara, said it didn't want the $525 million. But Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. Curtis Le May said he wanted it, so Congress forced the larger appropriation on the Pentagon.

Most of the discussion on foreign affairs in Congress has been in competition in vituperation and hostility against the Soviet Union, China and Cuba. There were virtually no reservations expressed on rigging our sugar treaty against Cuba, or on imposing a tight boycott on Cuba. The abortive tractor-prisoner exchange proposal was the subject of endless tirades. During the plane hijacking incidents this summer, Congress erupted in hysterical calls for use of armed forces against Castro. When the hijacking case flopped amid considerable embarrassment for our Government, there were no apologies.

On July 28 the Senate voted 76 to 0 for Senate Concurrent Resolution 34 restating Congressional opposition to the admission to the United Nations and to U.S. recognition of the People's Republic of China, and supporting Nationalist China "as the representative of China in UN." Two amendments offered by Sen. Thomas Dodd (D-Conn.) toughening the formulations were accepted without debate. No one spoke against. On Aug. 31, the House approved the Senate resolution, 395 to 0. Only Rep. William F. Ryan (D-N.Y.) spoke for flexibility in U.S. policy on China. He and Rep. Thomas L. Ashley (D-Ohio) voted "present" on the resolution, the only two members of Congress to register reservations.

PRAISE OF FRANCO: On July 20 Rep. Victor Anfuso (D-N.Y.) led off a series of Congressional speeches paying tribute to Franco Spain on the 25th anniversary of the Spanish Civil War. Fifteen Democrats from the North and two Republicans praised the Fascist dictator and his regime. In the Senate, Sen. Bridges (R-N.H.) congratulated Franco and Spain for "contributions to the cause of the free world . . . " No voice protested.

The one bright spot was in the Senate, where there have been some significant individual expressions on moderation of the cold war. Most important have been those of the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Sen. William Fulbright (D-Ark.), who opposed the Cuban invasion, and who has repeatedly called for negotiations on the Berlin crisis. The Senate majority leader, Mike Mansfield (Mont.), has suggested that Berlin be neutralized as a free international city. Sen. Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.) on Aug. 22 supported this proposal and was congratulated by Sens. Joseph Clark (Pa.), Wayne Morse (D-Ore.), John O. Pastore (D-R.I.), and Albert Gore (D-Tenn.). A few other Senators and a handful of members of the House have also indicated some reservations about some basic elements of the policy of force and toughness.

But these have been individual expressions, uncoordinated and unorganized. They have not been part of a consistent anti-cold war position. Moreover, even these tentative passes toward moderation have been subjected to vicious attack, and have received little organizational support. For example, Mansfield's "Berlin a free city" plan was immediately subjected to bi-partisan Congressional attack "as aiding communism," and President Kennedy repudiated the proposal. The AFL-CIO Executive Council condemned the Mansfield proposal as "undermining the security of West Berlin and opening the city to communist subversion . . . The Mansfield plan would be essentially what Khrushchev seeks . . ."

Hutton in the Philadelphia Inquirer
"What else is more important?"

SHAM BATTLES: On the home front Congress, with the clear agreement of President Kennedy, has scuttled civil rights legislation. After the White House-Congress deal in January that preserved the power of the Dixiecrat filibuster and confirmed Dixiecrat leadership of the House and Senate, all discussions and votes on civil rights were sham battles. In the faint attempt on Sept. 19 to change the rules permitting filibuster, only 37 of the 100 Senators took the civil rights side. Sen. Clinton P. Anderson (D-N.M.), who has led the fight against the filibuster in the past, said that the issue was dead "until 1963 or later." No civil rights legislation is expected in 1962.

Not satisfied with existing repressive legislation and the 5-4 Supreme Court majority validating it, the House has passed a number of measures against civil liberties. These include bills making deportations easier under the Walter-McCarran Act; setting up waterfront screening; reversing the Supreme Court decisions in the Mallory illegal arrest case and the Yates Smith Act case, and censoring "foreign propaganda" in the mails. Passed almost without opposition in the House, all these measures are pending in the Senate under jurisdiction of the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss.). In spite of rising opposition, both the House and the Senate have given overwhelming support to their witch-hunt committees.

NO REAL ACTION: Congress has refused to enact significant legislation aimed at full employment or new advances in social welfare. Action that was taken on minimum wages, farm legislation, aid to distressed areas, temporary unemployment compensation, and housing was all of a limited, heavily compromised nature.

What is really significant is what Congress refused to do: Reform the heavily rigged tax laws, provide health care for the aged through Social Security, set up uniform Federal standards for improved unemployment compensation, enact aid to education, establish a full employment public works program, or vote a shorter basic work week. The anti-labor character of the Congress is so taken for granted that repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law or the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Law is not even mentioned.

In spite of minor jockeying on foreign aid, education aid, and taxes, no really serious conflict has developed between the White House and Congress. As AFL-CIO radio commentator and columnist Edward P. Morgan said: "The White House performance . . . has been a strange mixture of conservatism and expediency."

NEW YORK

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Long Beach Current Events Forum presents:
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Concert featuring Sam Hinton, Ernie Lieberman, Mike Janusz, Bill Oliver, the Steel Drivers, the Clarions, and others. For Pete Seeger Civil Liberties Defense Fund and the First Unitarian Church General Fund. Fri., Oct. 6, 8:15 p.m. Don. $1.50. Send check with self-addressed stamped envelope for reservations to First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8th St.

PHILADELPHIA

Week-End of Marxist Lectures:
1) Sat., Oct. 7, 3-5 p.m.
WILLIAM F. WARDE — "Dialectical Materialism: Method of Marxism."
2) Sat., Oct. 7, 7-9 p.m.
EVELYN REED— "Men & Women: Their Changing Relation in History."
3) Sun., Oct. 8, 3-5 p.m.
WILLIAM F. WARDE — "Historical Materialism."
Registration fee—employed, $2.50 series of 3; students, $1.50 series of 3.
SOCIAL—SATURDAY, OCT. 7, — 9 p.m.
Ausp: Militant Labor Forum, 1303 W. Girard Av.

NEW YORK

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VACATION IN MEXICO
Sun., Oct. 1, 8 p.m. Color film, travel tips, music, refreshments. 230 W. 16 St., Apt. 1-A. Phone: DA 8-6154, afternoons. Cont. $1. Part I of a series.

FILM SHOWING: "MR. SMITH GOES TO WASHINGTON," starring James Stewart. Sponsored by THE BURNING ISSUES FILM COMMITTEE. Sun., Oct. 1, 7 p.m. 27 2nd Av. (Entrance on 4th St.)

JAPAN TODAY
and
SEVENTH WORLD PEACE CONFERENCE
DR HERBERT APTHEKER gives first-hand report on Sun., Oct. 1, 7:45 p.m., Parkway Plaza, 1110 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn. — Ausp: Crown Hts. Forum. Cont. 50c.

PENTHOUSE PARTY FOR PEACE
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BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS

JEWISH CURRENTS, October issue just off press. Highlights: "The Berlin Brink & Bomb Testing" by Morris U. Schappes, "The New Rochelle School Story" by Babette Jones, Rebuttal by Charles Allen Jr. of State Dept. whitewash of Heusinger, "Our Puerto Rican Neighbors" by Rebecca Adler. Subscription $4 yearly ($4.50 outside U.S.). Single copies 40c. Jewish Currents, Dept. G, 22 E. 17 St. N.Y.C. 3.

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THE GALLERY

CAROL LAWRENCE was supposed to sing the national anthem at City Hall ceremonies honoring employees of New York's Transit Authority, but at the last minute her appearance was canceled. TA officials had discovered that she is one of the stars of a forthcoming musical, "Subways Are for Sleeping." . . . An appropriately named company, Idiot's Delight, Ltd., of Wellesley, Mass., is offering "Sick gifts for the well." It features a gift basket of a shrunken head, do-it-yourself voodoo kit, an ear in a bottle, roasted caterpillars, etc., for $3.95 to $10.95 . . . The Tri-County Construction Co. in California offers to build fallout shelters with no down payment and "five years to pay." . . . The Board of Realtors in Glendale, Calif., is presenting each new home buyer with an American flag. Originator of the plan is board vice president Marlin O. Miser . . . NBC changed the name of an upcoming TV show from "What's Wrong with American Men?" to "What's Wrong with Men?" . . . The House Ways and Means Committee approved a resolution by Rep. John C. Watts (D-Ky.), urging the government to take "appropriate action" to prevent persons outside the U.S. from designating their whisky as "bourbon." . . . Hillsborough County, (Fla.) Sheriff Ed Blackburn Jr., in a spirit of reform, abandoned the bread-and-water diet for incorrigible prisoners. Blackburn now feeds them baby food.

P. D. EAST, impish editor of the **Petal Paper** in Mississippi, became annoyed at the "anti-human" quality of the proposed exchange of tractors for Cuban counterrevolutionaries captured in last April's invasion. He organized a Save a Tractor Committee. Instead of machines he proposed a list of people he would ship abroad. They included: "The Rev. Normal V. Peale"; Mortimer Adler, Felix Frankfurter, Simon and Schuster, "Mary Martin and all the Nuns"; Stuart Symington; Pat and Checkers; Ayn Rand, Bernard Baruch, Herbert Hoover, Barbara Hutton and Gloria Vanderbilt; Frank Costello and Robert Moses; Ladybird, Mamie and Liz; Herman Wouk and Winnie Ille Pooh; Richard Nixon ("should go, must be kept for security reasons"). Bennett Cerf; William Buckley Jr. and Barry Gray; Norman Cousins and David Susskind; Lincoln White and Whizzer White; Werner von Braun; Leo Cherne "missing"; Allen Dulles "deceased"; Lewis Strauss and Carl Sandburg "to be returned after getting a haircut." East asked readers who had additional nominees to send them to East Publishing Co., Box 349, Hattisburg, Miss.

Vie Nuovo

A NON-GOVERNMENTAL organization, the Institute of Soviet-American Relations, has been set up in Moscow to "establish contacts and cooperate with those American organizations and individuals willing to make contributions to the development of mutual understanding between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. Leading Soviet artists, scientists and writers are on the initiating committee. Further information may be obtained from the Institute at 14 Kalinin St., Moscow . . . The second International Tchaikovsky Competition in piano, violin and cello will be held in Moscow next April and May. Van Cliburn won the first competition in 1958. Persons interested in competing may get full information from the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Relations, 32 W. Randolph St., Chicago 1, Ill. . . . "Psychopathology of Thermonuclear War," a discussion by four scientists comparing world tensions with individual psychotic actions, recorded at the American Psychological Assn. convention, will be heard on WBAI-FM in New York, on Oct. 11 at 8 p.m. . . . A subhead on a press release from Dodge cars read: "Krushchev Kills Chrome." It argued that the sobering effect of Soviet sputniks drove the glitter, gaudiness and girth out of American autos.

—Robert E. Light

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MF 313—SONGS AND DANCES OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, performed by the soloists, chorus and orchestra of the Czechoslovak National Ballet.

MF 315—UKRAINA: THE UKRAINIAN DUMKA CHORUS conducted by Alexander Soroka, and the Ukrainian Bandura Ensemble conducted by Alexander Minkovsky, featuring Boris Hmirya, Bass-Baritone.

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MC 2002 **BACH Piano Concerto No. 1 in D Minor** Richter, piano; State Orch. of the U.S.S.R., Sanderling, cond; **PROKOFIEFF Violin Concerto No. 2 in G Minor. Op. 63** Kogan, violin; State Orch. of the USSR, Kondrashin, cond.

MC 2003 **DAVID OISTRAKH RECITAL.** SZYMANOWSKI The Fountain of Arethusa; DE FALLA Spanish Dance; SCRIABIN Nocturne; PROKOFIEFF Love of Three Oranges: March; ALBENIZ Song of Love; WAGNER Album Leaf; SAINT-SAENS Etude; SUK Song of Love; ZARZYCKI Mazurka; MEDTNER Nocturne; KODALY 3 Hungarian Dances. **V. Yampolsky,** piano.

MC 2004 RACHMANINOFF Piano Concerto No. 1 in F Sharp Minor, Op. 1 Richter, piano; State Radio Orch., Sanderling, cond; **SAINT-SAENS Piano Concerto No. 5 in F Major, Op. 103, Egyptian,** Richter, piano; Moscow Youth Symphony Orch.. Kondrashin, cond.

MC 2007 **KABALEVSKY Symphony No. 4** Leningrad Philharmonic Orch., Kabalevsky, cond.; **PROKOFIEFF The Volga Meets the Don, Op. 130** Moscow Philharmonic Orch., Samosud, cond.

MC 2009 **BACH Concerto in D Minor for Two Violins and Orchestra,** David and Igor Oistrakh, violins; Chamber Orch., Barshai, cond. **SARASATE Navarra for Two Violins and Piano,** David and Igor Oistrakh, violins; Yampolsky, piano; **BACH Sonata No. 6 in G Major for Violin and Piano; HINDEMITH Sonata No. 1 for Violin and Piano, Op. 11.** Oistrakh, violin; Yampolsky, piano.

MC 2010 **BEETHOVEN Trio No. 7 in B Flat Major, Op. 97, Archduke** Gilels, piano; Kogan, violin; Rostropovich, cello.

MC 2011 **BEETHOVEN Sonata No. 7 in C Minor, Op. 30, No. 2** Kogan, violin; Mitnik, piano; **MOZART Sonata in F Major, K. 376** Kogan, violin; Ginsburg, piano.

MC 2012 **RACHMANINOFF Piano Concerto No. 3 in D Minor, Op. 30** Merzhanov, piano; State Orch. of the USSR, Anosov, cond; **LISZT Three Grand Etudes After Paganini (Nos. 3 La Campanella, 4, 5)** Merzhanov, piano.

MC 2013 **BRAHMS Variations on a Theme of Paganini, Op. 35; SCRIABIN Sonata No. 5, Op. 53; Four Etudes (Op. 8, Nos. 5, 10, 12; Op. 42, No. 5)** Merzhanov, piano.

MC 2014 **SHOSTAKOVICH Violin Concerto, Op. 99** Oistrakh, violin; Leningrad Orch., Mravinsky, cond.

MC 2015 **SHOSTAKOVICH Symphony No. 9, Op. 70; A Festive Overture, Op. 96; Memorable Year 1919, Op. 89,** State Radio Orch. of the USSR, Gauk, cond.

M 2019 **TCHAIKOVSKY Souvenir of Florence, Op. 70** Kogan, Elizaveta Gilels. **KIN Variations on a Russian Folk Theme** Kogan, violin; Rostropovich, cello.

MC 2022 **SCHUMANN Humoresque, Op. 20; FRANCK Prelude, Chorale and Fugue** Richter, piano.

MC 2023 **SCHUMANN Cello Concerto in A Minor, Op. 129** Rostropovich, cello; Moscow Philharmonic Orch., Samosud, cond.; **Concerto for Four Horns in F Major, Op. 86** State Radio Orch.; Gauk cond.

MC 2025 **KHATCHATURIAN Spartacus Ballet Music** State Radio Orch., Gauk, cond.

MC 2027 **SCHUBERT Sonata in A Minor for Piano, Op. 42; Impromptus Op. 90, No. 2 and Op. 142, No. 2** Richter, piano.

MC 2028 **IGOR BEZRODNY: Violin Encores.** GERSHWIN Three Preludes; BLOCH Nigun; TRIGGS Danza Braziliana; KREISLER Gypsy Caprice; FUCHS Jota; DEBUSSY En Bateau; GLIERE Romance; PROKOFIEFF Peter and the Wolf: Theme & Processional; ELGAR Farewell; VILLA-LOBOS Song of the Black Swan; MOMPOU Jeunes Filles au Jardin; RESPIGHI Berceuse. A. Makarov, piano.

MC 2029 **ZARA DOLUKHANOVA (Mezzo-Soprano) RECITAL.** VERDI Aria of Eboli from Don Carlo; ARUTYANIAN Lullaby; BEETHOVEN 3 Songs from The New Collection of Folk Songs; 2 Greek Folk Songs; Songs by Khudoyan, Medtner, Peiko, and Makarova.

MC 2032 **BEETHOVEN Piano Concerto No. 4 in G, Op. 58** Gilels, piano; Leningrad Philharmonic Orch., Sanderling, cond.; **SCARLATTI Sonata in A Major (L. 395); Sonata in D Minor (L. 421)** Gilels, piano.

MC 2033 **BEETHOVEN Piano Concerto No. 5 in E Flat Major, Op. 73, "Emperor"** Gilels, piano; Leningrad Philharmonic Orch.. Sanderling, cond.

MC 2034 **TCHAIKOVSKY Sonata in G Major, Op. 37, "Grand Sonata"; PROKOFIEFF Sonata No. 9 in C Major, Op. 103** Richter, piano.

MC 2035 **THE VIRTUOSO STRINGS OF THE BOLSHOI THEATRE ORCHESTRA** KHACHATURIAN Sabre Dance; GLAZOUNOV Entracte from Raymonda; PROKOFIEFF Waltz from War and Peace; March from Peter and the Wolf; VLADIGEROV Song; PAGANINI Perpetual Motion; RIMSKY-KORSAKOV Flight of the Bumble Bee; DVORAK Songs My Mother Taught Me; HRISTIC Two Dances from Legend of Ohrid; RAVEL: Pavane Pour Une Infante Defunte; Egyptian Dance, Yuli Reentovich, cond.

MC 2037 **BACH Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 in G Major; Brandenburg Concerto No. 4 in G Major; Suite No. 2 in B Minor for Flute and Strings.** D. Oistrakh, violin; A. Korneyev and N. Zeidel, flutes; Moscow Chamber Orch., Barshai, cond.

MC 2040 **PROKOFIEFF Sinfonia Concertante, Op. 125 for Cello & Orch.** Rostropovich, cello; Leningrad Philharmonic Orch., Sanderling, cond.; **SHOSTAKOVICH Concertino for Two Pianos** Maxim & Dmitri Shostakovich, pianists.

MC 2046 **FAMOUS SOLOISTS OF THE BOLSHOI THEATER IN RUSSIAN OPERATIC ARIAS—Lisitsian** (from Nero), **Vishnevskaya** (Snowmaiden), **Firsova** (Francesca Da Rimini), **Petrov** (The Decembrists), **Kozlovsky and Kleshcheva** (Duets from Eugene Onegin), **Masnikova** (Khovanschina), **Reizen** (Ivan Sussanin).

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Junius Scales' ordeal

THE DATE OCTOBER 2, 1961, will be a momentous one in the family history of one American, Junius Irving Scales. On that day he begins a six-year term in prison. More of us should mark it than will.

JUNIUS IRVING SCALES

As we sat in his comfortable, book-lined living room the other day discussing the events leading up to Oct. 2, Scales seemed a man resigned to what has come to him and resigned to go it alone. But it didn't seem right that loneliness should accompany injustice.

His imprisonment and that of many others seemed all the more cruel because they are at the core of the cold war, yet a small part of the general design of destruction of radical thought and action in the United States. But Scales' resignation carries with it no bitterness. One asks: was he harassed by the FBI. He smiles and says: "Not much. I was unhired from one job in 18 hours and another in 30. But after a battle for my union card I have been able to work."

In later conversation, other half-forgotten harassments came up. "My mother was my most effective witness in my trial; she told about the FBI harassing her . . . My wife lost an excellent job, after the FBI went to top management . . . Columbia University wouldn't accept my application for graduate study until my 'status with the government' was cleared up."

His ordeal has lasted seven years. His first trial on charges of "knowingly" being a member of an organization (the Communist Party) purported to advocate the violent overthrow of the government was in 1954. Three years after that the U.S. Supreme Court threw the case out on the basis of its ruling in the Jencks case which put limits on the use of FBI materials to which the defendant did not have access.

IN FEBRUARY, 1958, A YEAR AFTER he had left the Communist Party, Scales was indicted a second time on the same count: violation of the membership clause of the Smith Act. He was found guilty by a North Carolina jury, then in the Circuit Court of Appeals and in 1959 the case went to the Supreme Court for the second time. Two years later on June 5, 1961, the Supreme Court upheld his conviction by a 5-4 majority with stirring dissents by Justices Black and Douglas.

Scales had grown up in North Carolina, the son of a millionaire banker and grand nephew of a governor of the state. He had spent his youth in radical political activity—organizing for the CIO in textile mills, fighting for integration—and he was North and South Carolina chairman of the Communist Party. "I can't say that I regret any of it," he said. "We did a lot of good things." Is he still a "radical?" He is, he said, and he'd like to see a "home-grown, radical movement."

Scales had left the Communist Party in the wake of Khrushchev's 1956 report on the Stalin era to the Soviet CP 20th Congress and the 1957 convention of the U.S. CP. It was ironic that his case should be that upon which the Supreme Court upheld the membership clause, and that Scales should receive the most severe Smith Act sentence. It took 20 years for the Smith Act to come into full force as a weapon against the Communist Party (the final test is yet to come) and its effect will be felt first by one who voluntarily gave up his membership.

There are some who are concerned about this element of his case. Grenville Clark, Robert F. Goheen, Reinhold Niebuhr, Norman Thomas and 44 other prominent persons petitioned the district court for a reduction and suspension of sentence. Neither their plea nor that of members of the jury which convicted him was heeded. A group of Greensboro, N.C., lawyers—conservative lawyers, Scales pointed out—and a local judge also requested suspension or a drastic reduction in the sentence. The government answered the arguments for a lessened sentence with two points: (1) that the FBI had answered in the negative a query as to whether Scales had given any assistance to them, and (2) Scales had been seen in a cafeteria with a Communist official.

There will be a petition for executive clemency initiated by Clark, Goheen, Niebuhr and Thomas.

WHAT IS SCALES DOING to ready himself for the years behind bars—the end of a long ordeal? Quietly he said: "I am putting my affairs in order, seeing friends and spending as much time as I can with my family." His 10-year-old daughter, Barbara, has only recently been told of her father's "crime" and punishment. She is getting ready, too. Scales said with a smile: "When she mentions it now, she prefaces her comments with an apology because she doesn't want to upset me. Of course it is hard to say what is going on in a 10-year-old's head, what effect something like this is having."

Why don't you do some shouting before you go in? we asked. "I guess I should," he said. "But it's difficult to keep trumpeting about yourself. Besides it's been seven years."

—Joanne Grant